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MEMORIAL

OF THE

Legislature of the Free State of Arkansas

General Assembly

TO CONGRESS,

AND

LETTER FROM W. D. SNOW

SENATOR ELECT. TO THE

HON. S. C. POMEROY,

SHOWING

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE RE-ORGANIZED GOVERNMENT OF ARKANSAS—THE LOYALTY OF THE STATE—THE VOTE, AND THE PRESENT LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION IN THE STATE.

WASHINGTON:
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WILLARD'S HOTEL,

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11, 1865.

HON. S. C. POMEROY:

DEAR SIR:

Having read with satisfaction the able statement, which your generous advocacy of the cause of Arkansas has placed before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate; as the accredited representative of the State, seeking a seat upon the floor of that body, I desire, in the name of a patriotic but suffering and neglected people, to thank you alike for your sympathies as a citizen and your labors as a statesman, in their behalf.

Gratefully acknowledging the completeness of your argument as founded upon facts so abundantly furnished by distinguished gentlemen of Arkansas, that you have been obliged to condense them; will you pardon me if, through you, I seek to present to the Senate a Memorial to Congress from the Legislature of our State, of which I am the bearer, and if I offer you some new considerations, illustrating the subject of reorganization in Arkansas, to which your attention, otherwise multifariously engaged, has not been called.

The Memorial which I have the honor herewith to transmit, gives a brief history of the origin and progress of the reorganization of the State. The limited nature of a Memorial, however, did not permit the Legislature to go into that extended notice which a proper understanding of the diffused and spontaneous character of this important movement in the State of Arkansas demands.

It has been mistakenly charged by the sincere friends of the Government, that the reorganized States are the creatures of military creation. Against this, so far as Arkansas is concerned, I most solemnly protest. An intimate knowledge of the progress of events, in relation to which, using the language of Æneas, if the adjective were omitted, I could truly say, "*et quorum magna pars fui*," enables me to aver that the great bulk of the then existing population; the slaveholders as a class having emigrated to Texas, and the turbulent secession element having volunteered, welcomed the advent of our arms with a deep and heartfelt satisfaction. That it was not always obtrusively demonstrative I admit, but that it was any the less universal and sincere, I deny.

A profound ignorance of the designs of our commanders in the establishment of permanent posts, and the sad recurrence of repeated disappointments, had rendered a people who, in the first few months of the war, would have made the Heavens ring with their glad acclaim, cautious, but not disloyal.

The Confederate version of the news of Oak Hill fell upon their ears like a thunder clap. The roar of the victorious artillery at Elkhorn March, 1862, reverberated through the mountains, and swept over our vallies like a voice of prophecy. Rumors of the advance of Curtis, spread by exulting lips far in his van, seemed like a fulfillment of the promise, and they rejoiced: but the inexorable necessities of war, forced, after an advance to within forty-five miles of the Capitol, the evacuation of the section of country covered by him, and the blackened ruins of loyal homes; the suspended bodies of scores of those whom treasonable malignity had marked as affiliating with the army, warned the friends of the Government to be thoughtful.

Again, the volleyed musketry of Prairie Springs, December, 1862, awakened the last Spring's echoes of Elkhorn. and as Hindman's tatterdamalions rushed frantically from one disastrous field in the northwest to the Post of Arkansas, equally disastrous in the southeast, the hearts of the whole country behind them rose with a bound to welcome the army of deliverance. A second time the exigencies of the nation changed the apparent direction of our troops, and they came not; but in their stead returned the infuriated bands of the Confederacy, with maledictions on their lips and vengence as their purpose.

At the first intimation of the change, conscious from the history of the previous year of his impending fate, the hardy loyalist mounted his horse and sped to the border. Every mountain path was filled with fugitives. Refugee trains groaned along all the unfrequented roads; their terror-stricken occupants deprived at a moment's notice of home and its comforts, goading their tired cattle to escape an actual and remorseless pursuit.

Maddened by the condition of things which had been revealed, the commanding general, without even a pretended law or authority, levied a wholesale conscription. His officers visited every house, and with sabres at his back, every man capable of bearing arms, irrespective of age, was dragged to the army. Desertions became frequent. A reign of terror was inaugurated. The forage and edibles—already scarce—of whole neighborhoods was impressed, without even the poor compensa-

tion of rebel scrip, the only currency the people had. Oppression, practiced to its utmost verge, forced the mutterings of despair. Men were shot, six at a time, at the will of the commander, without even the form of a court-martial, until at last Confederate vengeance was satiated, and the monster was removed.

Is it to be wondered at, after an experience such as this, loyalty was not always loudly demonstrative at the first approach of the Federal Army? It had learned prudence; but that it still pulsated as warmly in the bosoms of the mass of the people as when, in a vote of forty thousand they gave eleven thousand majority to members of the Convention who were pledged to the Union, became immediately apparent on the occupancy of the Capitol. General Steele had taken possession of his headquarters at Little Rock but twenty-four hours, when the loyal people of the city where I reside, fifty miles distant, gathered together and appointed a committee, of which the writer was one, to visit him, and, informing him of the large Union sentiment among us, to ask a garrison and the protection of the flag of our choice. Within ten days after his arrival at Little Rock a Union Club was formed, which held public meetings once or twice a week, and so earnestly carried forward the work of assuring the people of the permanency of the occupation, that they were finally compelled to hold their meetings in the open air for want of sufficient accommodation in doors.

To Crawford and Sebastian counties, and the people of northwestern Arkansas, two hundred miles away from headquarters, properly belongs the credit of setting in operation, scarcely one month after the capture of the Capitol, the movement which finally resulted in the assembling of the State Convention, the establishment of the Free Constitution, and the reorganization of the State. This occurred in October, 1863. Owing to the very recent occupation of our army at that time, means of intercommunication were tardy and inadequate. The people of the central and southeastern portions, animated by the same unshaked loyalty, in November, as yet uninformed of the movement in the northwest, dispatched a delegation of their most prominent citizens to Washington, to confer with the President as to the best method of re-establishing civil government under the authority of the United States. They were long delayed upon the way, and it was to this delegation that the authority contained in a letter to General Steele, dated January 20th, 1864, to hold an election in Arkansas, quoted in your letter, page 13, was handed. Another delay occurred at Washington before the delegation started to return. In the interim the people of the central and eastern part of the State—better means of communication, including a telegraph nearly across the State—having been established, hailed with satisfaction the plan proposed in Sebastian and Crawford counties, and acted upon it. Delegates had been elected to the State Convention; that body had assembled, formed a Constitution abolishing slavery, referred it to the people, appointed that sterling patriot Isaac Murphy, Provisional Governor, and then adjourned. Communication with Washington by telegraph having been opened, the substance of the President's authority, quoted by you, was communicated to Gov. Murphy; the President was informed of the action of the Convention, and a reply immediately received, of which the following is a copy:

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 8th, 1864.

"TO I MURPHY:

"My order to General Steele about an election was made in ignorance of the action your Convention had taken or would take. A subsequent letter directs Gen. Steele to aid you in your own plans, and not to thwart or hinder you. Show this to him.

"A. LINCOLN."

It is a noticeable feature in the history of Arkansas, that amid the excitement throughout the country consequent upon the agitation of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, while secession was openly canvassed in many of the Southern States, that it never appeared as an issue upon the surface of her politics, and so decidedly loyal was the volume of public opinion, the slavocratic conspirators were compelled to cloak their discordant designs whenever an allusion was made to a possible difficulty in case of failure, under the specious pretext of fighting for their rights *in* the Union. That this preponderating loyalty existed then and maintained itself through the terrors, exactions and persecutions of three years of rebel authority, is directly referrable to the converse of the material causes which afford a solution of the rebellion. Arkansas as a whole was not wedded to slavery.

Originally settled by the poor whites of the South who had fled from competition with that institution, even as late as 1860; though the slave population had doubled in ten years; five counties, Chicot, Jefferson, Philips, Union and Hempstead, contained more than thirty per cent. of the slaves of the whole State. A very great proportion of the counties had less than one thousand—Newton, for instance, with a population of 3,393 having but 24; Searcy, with a popula-

tion of 5,271, presenting but 93; Fulton, with a population of 4,024 exhibiting but 83, and so on *ad finem*.

Of her area of 52,188 square miles, not more than twenty per cent. is adapted to the profitable cultivation of cotton. These lands, consisting exclusively of the narrow vallies which follow the course of the streams and the Mississippi; through a shameless system of class legislation, early became the prey, at a nominal price, of the slaveholders as a body, and the hardy pioneer looked with a natural jealousy upon that system, which, having exiled him from the State of his nativity, followed him with insatiable rapacity to the border, and depriving him of the rich alluvions of the bottoms, drove him to the less productive soils of the hills.

If powerless, the non-slaveholders of Arkansas, most of them the more enterprising emigrants from the old Slave States, were still conscious of their wrongs.

Constituting by far the greater portion of the people, and driven to the cultivation of the cereals; a pursuit in the southwest naturally incompatable with profitable slavery; when called upon by every appeal which mendacity could devise or effrontery present, at the only opportunity with the ballot which was ever permitted, in large majority they protested against the contemplated treason. Afterwards, though insulted, distressed, hunted and proscribed, with the memory of the martyrdom of many whose names are now on every loyal lip.

—"Who lived unknown till persecution
Chased them up to fame, and on to heaven,"

they kept the fires of loyalty aglow in their bosoms, and almost ere the first bugle blasts of freedom had sounded along the frail line of posts that protected them from the enemy, they came forward voluntarily, without military insigation, nay, against military interference, and legally and orderly deposited their votes for Liberty, Civil Government, and the Union.

I come now to speak of the vote. An earnest member of your body, distinguished alike for his legal learning and his devotion to the interests of the Government, remarked to me that he never would support the "one-tenth" principle, but that whenever one-half of the voters of the rebellious States signified their desire for the resumption of Federal relations, he would admit them. Without calling his attention to the glaring injustice of so ordering things, that a rebel in arms, who has forfeited all his rights; by the mere fact of his existence, shall have equal weight in determining the inalienable rights of self-government of the loyal man who is himself present and active, and determined in the support of the Government; or without showing the equally gross violation of equity, which would follow the establishment of a principle that would enable the oath purged rebels by their mere refusal to enter into an election, to perpetuate the confusions of the re-occupied States, and defeat the will of an equal number of Union men, whose hearts are burning for the cause of the Government and whose arms are ready for the defense of the State. Without, in short, going into the metaphysics of politics, circumstances since I saw him have placed it in my power to demonstrate that Arkansas, at least, meets the conditions of the "one half" principle.

A rebel paper recently published—as I am informed by letter—the official vote at the late election for members of the rebel Congress from Arkansas, which shows a total rebel vote in the State of 3,732. A Little Rock correspondent of a New York paper confirms the statement of the letter under date of Little Rock, January 23d, 1865; while I myself saw the returns of the vote in the Second District, as published with the remark "that the returns in the other Districts were not yet received," in the *Washington Telegraph*, a rebel paper issued beyond the lines, in which the vote was stated for that District at about 1,100. Having mislaid the paper I cannot now be exact, but it did not exceed 1,125. In the District alluded to, the organization under which we seek recognition, received something over 3,000 votes, and in the whole State 12,403 were cast; the majority for the Constitution being 12,177.

Assuming the statement of the letter and newspaper correspondent to be correct, and that it is so I am convinced from the relative proportion of the whole vote reported by them, and that of the Second District which fell under my own observation, an analysis of the whole resident vote of the State in 1864, counting the entire rebel vote as against re-organization, shows a proportion of one against to more than three in favor of the present State government.

That the entire vote of a State so recently as 1860, voting 54,060 ballots, should, in the short space of four years, fall off to 16,135, may strike some northern minds as singular. When, however, it is remembered that the able-bodied secession element speedily volunteered, dragging with it many of the more easily intimidated and less decided Unionists, until Arkansas was represented in the Confederate army by nineteen so called volunteer regiments, of at least the minimum strength, and that immediately thereafter the several conscriptions were more than rigidly enforced, taking, not a certain portion, but *all* within the ages of eighteen and forty five, it will be seen that on the basis of 171,541

males of all ages in Arkansas in 1860, (Census 1860, page 246,) there could not possibly, making all due allowance for the return of discharged soldiers and persons arriving at maturity, be over 19,000 or 20,000 voters in the State. The difference of 4000 between these numbers and the actual vote, is accounted for by emigration South and refugeeism North, and that element which refused to vote on either side of the then existing line.

I am often asked what proportion of the State is represented in the Free State Legislature. In 1860, by the census, the forty-four counties out of fifty-four represented in the present Legislature, contained a white population of 273,320. If, as we may reasonably suppose, all portions of the State have been equally or nearly equally affected by the depletions of the war, whatever may be the existing population, they represent now, as they did then, a fraction over eight-tenths of the entire white inhabitants, the total in 1860 being 332,335. Owing to causes I have hereinbefore recited, the relative representation of the black population would be less in these counties, yet taking all the people of both colors together, on the same basis, the proportion of representation in the present Government, to the entire present population, would be as seven and a fraction is to ten.

To this plain and palpable history of affairs, I am sometimes met with the *ad captandum* objection, "the logic of events is against you" If your view is correct; if the great body of the people of Arkansas were loyal before the war; if they were in a majority during the war, and their patriotism was of that stubborn and unshaken character that it came cheerfully forward without prompting and re-asserted its rights in such large numbers, how was it possible for Arkansas to "go out?" Denying the possibility of a State's accomplishing what is so readily conceded in the objection, and denying further, that by any fair and legitimate construction of the acts of the people of Arkansas, they can be regarded, as a body, of having sanctioned secession, I yet reply for explanation that liberty in Arkansas found her home chiefly, as she has done everywhere in all ages, in the free and untrammeled air of the country, among the honest and unsuspecting tillers of the upland soils; that the influential slaveholders, in whose hands the government of the State had reposed from the beginning, were comparatively compact along the bottoms of the different streams; the State Capitol being situated in the middle of the wealthiest and most populous of these vallies —that acting in concert they soon subsidized a press, already prostituted, to the purposes of slavery, and infesting and getting control of the ostensible public sentiment of the few towns, in a State which stood the *twenty-eighth* in density of population, and the mean ratio of which was but eight and thirty-four one hundredths persons to the square mile; from their organized centres they soon obtained apparent political and real military control of the whole. The method is not new; it is almost as old as civilization itself.

A few more words and I have finished. Under the circumstances which I have endeavored to portray, the free loyal State of Arkansas demands recognition at the hands of Congress.

That the just indignation of a betrayed nation should hold to a strict accountability the conspirators against its peace, the loyal people of Arkansas appreciate and approve; but that the Confederate juggle of a pretended State action should be interposed between them and the constitutional rights of self-government, which they have been taught to believe inalienable, except by treason, it will be hard to make them understand.

Look at it. Four years ago the State, of which these loyal men, then as now, were the majority, though in different numbers, stood the peer of any. Plenty rustled in her cornfields; peace brooded over her households, and success dropped golden guerdon in the coffers of her enterprises. Between 1850 and 1860, in the ratio of increase of population, she was the fifth State; in increase of the cereals and their products the fourth; in real and personal estate and in the value of her farms, she stood before eleven; in value of farming implements she struck her foot upward and ascended above twelve; in wealth of live stock she out-ranked sixteen; of cotton she raised 367,000 bales; of grain, 19,293,332 bushels; of tobacco, in the infancy of its cultivation, 999,757 pounds. From this proud position has rebellion dragged her, and her loyal men ask recognition, that they may set deep in the records of the times, through a unanimous Legislature, the broad seal of their condemnation of slavery, whose virus festering in the bosom of the State paralyzed them until they were delivered, bound hand and foot, unwilling victims on the altar of its treasonable ambition!

They ask it, that they may extend the protection of laws which will be respected over the desolated homes and vacant glebes of thousands who are vagrant, outraged, way layed and murdered, only for their faithfulness to the Government of their fathers.

They ask it that, continuing an organization, the beneficence of which is already felt, they may retread the paths of their ancient prosperity, unchoked by the obstacles

of slavery, and build up a polity which, harmonizing with that of the whole, in identity of interest and equality of rights, shall tend to perpetuate the Republic for which they have cheerfully sacrificed all!

Will Congress deny us? If so, upon them must rest the grave responsibility of exhibiting to the world a suffering people, to whom, by their direct action, loyalty has been made a misfortune and fidelity a curse!

Thanking you again in the name of this people for the interest you have manifested, and hoping I have placed you in possession of such facts as will make easier the generous task you have undertaken, I annex the Memorial to which I referred, and calling your attention to that portion of it which speaks particularly of military indifference, nay, of military prevention,

I remain,

Very truly yours,

W. D. SNOW.

In the Senate, on the 22d day of December, 1864, Dr. White, from the Select Committee, to whom was referred the duty of preparing a suitable Memorial to the Congress of the United States, praying for Recognition, etc., submitted the following Memorial, for the adoption of the General Assembly of Arkansas, to the Congress of the United States, which Memorial was read and adopted; yeas 12, noes 5, and on the 30th December reported back from the House of Representatives as having passed that body unanimously:

MEMORIAL:

A little more than one year ago, the loyal people of the State of Arkansas, after nearly three years of sujection to, and suffering from an illegal tyrannical and sanguinary government, and when they had been to a very great extent relieved therefrom, by the aid of the Union armies in virtue of a provision of the Constitution of the United States, which not only secures to each State a republican form of government, but also its aid in suppressing insurrections and domestic violence, re-organized their State Government, and re-affirmed their loyalty and devotion to the Constitution and government of the United States. They also in accordance with their wishes, as well as the spirit and demand of the times, annulled and abrogated the law recognizing the institution of African slavery, then existing in their midst. Having accomplished thus much, they deem that they had restored the Federal relations of the State to their *status quo ante bellum*.

As the representatives of the loyal people of Arkansas in Legislature assembled, we beg leave herewith, most respectfully, to submit to your Honorable body, a few facts bearing upon our re-organiztion, as well as the status and condition of our people and their claims for present consideration.

In October, 1863, the loyal citizens of the counties of Crawford and Sabastian, conjointly in Mass Meeting very fully attended recommended, that a State Convention of the people, by their delegates, should assemble at Little Rock, the Capital of the State, on the fourth day of January then following. Other counties took action immediately in like manner, and throughout the State, where proceedings could be had, the utmost harmony and enthusiasm prevailed; and when, on the 8th of December, the President issued his Proclamation, or 'plan' for the re-organization of States, which were, or had been, in insurrection, a majority of the counties of the State had called meetings for the election of their delegates. The Proclamation legalized our proceedings as we thought, and the loyal heart of Arkansas took courage, and its pulses beat full and strong. The movement, it is hardly necessary to say, was a spontaneous one. It was the movement of the people, and for them and he who says it was otherwise, or that the people, or any portion of them, were instigated to action by letters from Washington, or by Military Officers here or elsewhere, says that which he not only does not know to be true, but which is positively untrue, and without the shadow of foundation in fact. No outside influence was sought to be extended by any one excepting as against us.

It was known, indeed, that many, very many, military men opposed us, persistently, and until after the reception of the President's Proclamation, or rather after the reception of his instructions issued subsevuently thereto. It is a fact also, that numbers of the delegates elect, were prevented from attending the sitting of the convention by the orders of a military commander in the North West, even after the receipt of the President's instructions, which were to the effect that the people should not be interfered with in their public or local assemblies.

General Steele himself only tolerated the presence of the people's delegates at Little Rock, but he did not oppose their action. Military interference prevented a quorum of the people's delegates from assembling for a long time. Military apathy has been a bane, the loyal people of Arkansas never will cease to remember, and whatever of censure or praise attaches to the success of the proceedings in the incipiency or progress of restoring the State Government, attaches to the loyal people of Arkansas, and to them alone. Justice as well as gratitude requires it to be said, however, that the loyal people had from the first a few valuable friends in the army. Prominent among

such were Brigadier General Kimball, commanding district of Little Rock, Brigadier General Andrews, commanding Post of Little Rock, Captain Henry. A. Q. M., Colonel, now Judge Caldwell, of the U. S. District Court of Arkansas, Colonel Bowen, 13th Kansas Volunteers, commanding at Van Buren, and Brigadier General Buford, commanding Eastern District of Arkansas at Helena.

The new or amended Constitution was ratified by a very large majority of the voters, (rebels were excluded,) and by a number exceeding 12,000, and nearly three-fifths of the vote of the State before the war, nearly all of the loyal citizens of the State having an opportunity to vote for or against the Constitution, as they might desire.

It was almost the unanimous expression of our loyal people, who thought loyal action to be not only expedient and proper, but of the highest necessity and importance.

We were without money or patronage, but honest and devoted to the Government, and had not the remotest idea that our advance would be repelled. The disloyal and wealthy portion of our former population were either in the rebel army or within its lines; we were rid of them and controlling the largest portion, say four-fifths of the territory of the State. It was our right as well as our duty to act, and we did so.

We have asked deferentially, yet, as a matter of justice, that Congress should recognize our efforts in the only proper and suitable manner, to wit: The admission of our Representatives to seats in the Congress of the U. S. as an admission that Arkansas is a State in the Union.

Shall we longer be neglected by the only Government we love, and for which we have been ready to die, and shall we be further discouraged from loyal efforts?

The bones of hundreds, yes, thousands of our sons and brothers lie bleaching upon the many battle-fields of the West. The people we represent have been true to the traditions of their fathers, and worshiped no rebel gods. Twelve thousand Arkansians to-day swell the number of the armies of the Union, while scarcely one-half that number remain in the rebel army by enlistment and conscription.

The Amnesty proclamation itself, although begotten through sound motives, has worked harm to the loyal people and their cause. Rebels and their families have been protected at the expense of radical Union men.

Positions lucrative in their character, have been given to persons of known rebel proclivities when Union men every way worthy could have been substituted, who were suffering for want of employment. Nor is this all. Rebels obtained permits to trade in preference to loyal Union men. Such is the doctrine of conciliation practically carried out.

Although, as a general thing in this war, the innocent must, to a great degree, suffer with the guilty. Yet, changing the proposition, the innocent have suffered more than the guilty, as applied to us.

Most of the rebels left the country in advance of the Union army while Union people remained. The property of the latter has been taken or destroyed without adequate remuneration, and in many cases without any remuneration at all, they have been treated in many instances as rebels, or without regard to the question of whether they were loyal or otherwise. They have thought indeed that the fact of having been loyal to their country, occasioned the contempt and disregard of Federal Authorities. In the city of Little Rock, have been thousands of Union refugees, men, women and children, broken-hearted, naked and starving; a great number are here now. They have fled from the wicked and murderous guerrillas, after being robbed of everything which they possessed. They live in camps or tents, drag out a miserable existence for a short time, and die. Hundreds suffer from actual want of necessary food, shelter and clothing, while many residences in the city are occupied by the families of those who are fighting against their country, or, being citizen rebels, have fled within the rebel lines. Their families are protected, and wield an overruling social influence. Many of them are wealthy and live in ease and comfort. They have busied themselves in carrying delicacies to the rebel prisoners who have happened to be confined in the Penitentiary for their crimes. And it is stated on the best authority, and the fact is notorious, that they never contributed in the slightest manner to the relief of the poor and distressed Union women and children, or take any interest in the amelioration of their condition.

It has been said that the men who instigate a revolution are seldom the ones to end it, whether it end disastrously or otherwise. And neither the slave owner, the rebel sympathizer, nor the quasi Union man, are the ones to rely upon to end the present rebellion, and bring peace to the South.

This task lies with the unconditional loyal men of the South. Organization and effort are amongst the more prominent and certain means to secure this result. Organization is our object. But we want the shield of the Government to protect us, in order that our arms may be nerved for the defence of our homes and our firesides, against the merciless guerrilla and marauder, as well as against the more open enemy.

It is often remarked that slavery is dead;

but slavery is not yet dead, and efforts are certainly being made to defeat the will of those who desire its destruction.

The pro-slavery party in Arkansas is not asleep; its efforts to destroy the present State organization here are persistent and desperate; its members have taken the amnesty oath and are protected; they have an organization, and control a press—the *Little Rock Democrat.* They manage shrewdly but determinedly, and will, if they can, defeat the will of the loyal people of the State. Pretending to be with us, they secretly operate against us, and would to-day, if they could, enslave the poor white people of the State. This organ, thus used, has sought to be the organ of the commander of the Department of Arkansas.

How well it has succeeded can be best judged by the amount of patronage bestowed upon it as against other and more loyal presses. We mean not to assail the late commander of this military department unjustly or unkindly; he is an honorable, charitable and just man in all his intentions and has many personal friends.

His object has been, no one doubts, to carry out the instructions of his superiors; but it is as a military rather than as a political leader that we would commend him. It is not our purpose as legislators to make compromises with rebels in arms, or to lower the standard of national loyalty. Treason must indeed be punished to the end that it shall lose none of its odium or significance, and loyalty shall not become a by-word and a reproach.

The fiat of the nation has been pronounced, and these States are to be one and indivisible. Slavery, the curse of our country, and the cause of the war, is no longer to be tolerated as an institution upon the statute books of the South. Such determination, we accept and approve, and the man who is not with us in our efforts, is against us. In reference to all the facts connected with the present position of affairs in this State, we think it must be apparent to your honorable body, that an immediate recognition of our State by the Federal Government, will enable us to overcome, to a great extent, at least the difficulties and embarrassments with which we are now surrounded.

We appeal to heaven for the rectitude of our intentions, and implore the Divine Mercy, forgiveness and guidance, for our much suffering and neglected people.

WILLIAM A. COUNTS,
Secretary of the Senate.

A. M. MERRICK,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

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